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part of the woman, a rough gesture, or a rude answer. Sometimes the matter is settled by the woman's being abandoned.

If the woman divulges the name of the man who originally possessed her, or if it is learned by some means, the husband will present his claim for compensation for abuse, because the one who enjoyed her, without payment, made use of something which belonged to him by act and right of purchase.

[587]

The economic valuation of virginity can be confirmed by the fact that a widow who refuses to live in marital life with the maternal nephews of her late husband must pay a sum equal to that paid for her by her husband, less a discount for not now being a virgin. Also, when a woman has committed adultery, the husband has to be compensated for the offense received, and a payment is then made which is less than that for which the woman was bought, as a discount equivalent to the value put on her virginity is allowed, it being supposed that this existed at the time of her marriage. /68/

The Guajiro woman who is not a virgin and is about to be bought generally prefers, in consideration of the consequences, to inform her future husband of the facts. She tells him: "I warn you I am not a maiden, but if you truly care for me you have to buy me as I am. I tell you this beforehand so you can think it over and not throw it up to me afterward, seeing that I am not deceiving you." The woman is forced to make this confession in view of what might occur later when her lie is found out. Nevertheless, she will suffer much uncertainty as she has to face this dilemma: To tell the man offering to buy her and thereby expose herself to the possibility that he will withdraw, disillusioned and goaded by the desire to find out who had done such a thing and whether she would be faithful to him in their married life, and, furthermore, exposing herself to the danger that he might divulge her "secret" on a day of heavy drinking, by which her prestige before everyone would be wrecked and no man would come forward to buy her for a wife; or not tell him and suffer the consequences. However, it sometimes happens that the man reacts to

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586 As we can see, the dissolution of marriage does not really apply to the woman, who is merely transferred from her legitimate husband to her lover through the payment for damages claimed by her maternal relatives.

Nowadays, if a Guajiro knows that another man covets one of his wives, he will make a friendly arrangement, as we have seen, through intermediaries for the interested party to pay a sum which will give him the right to take the woman as his legal wife. The price of this transfer is generally lower than that paid by the first husband, because it is felt that she has lost value complying with the sexual obligations owed to her first husband. One can even cite cases where a woman who has changed her husband three times by this system, without ever having a marriage dissolved or recovering her initial freedom. She is a chattel whose usufruct is always in force.

587 Neither does a married woman recover her freedom on the death of her husband, since she, as his private property, is subject to the general rules /127/ of inheritance and is passed on in accordance with them, first to her late husband's nephews, sons of his sister; lacking these, to the brothers of her husband through the maternal line; and lacking these, to the dead man's cousins, sons of a maternal aunt. This custom, rigorously observed until a short time ago, has been losing force and today is only effective when the widows are young and coveted by the legitimate heirs of the husband. The older widows refuse to comply with the law or simply are not forced to fulfill this obligation by the heirs. Many young widows of the present day escape from the legitimate heirs to places where they are not obliged to comply with the laws of inheritance and where they can remake their married life to their own convenience. The law, however, gives them a door of escape since it permits them, in cases where they do not wish to live with their husband's heirs, to pay the latter an indemnification.

588 A woman may free herself of her marriage obligations when she commits adultery because her husband mistreats her and makes

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428 Laws of inheritance in La Guajira are determined by marriage. It follows that if the traditional Guajiro union is complied with, the customary laws of inheritance will hold. Let us see how the system works in its different aspects.

In the first place, inheritance is determined by the law of uterine affiliation. Thus the child does not inherit from his father but from his mother. The goods that belong to the father pass at his death under the control of his maternal ascendants, if any, of his brothers and sisters and of his nephews /and nieces? sobrinos/, children of his sister. If it is the mother who has died, her goods pass into the hands of her children, her maternal ascendants, her brothers and sisters, and the latter' descendants. If a person -- man or woman -- should die before marrying, his goods go under the control of his mother, if she is still alive, to his brothers /and sisters, hermanos/ to descendants through the female line, to the maternal uncles /and aunt? tios/, to the children of the mother's sisters, etc. We give below a number of cases of inheritable goods and the system involved.

a) The surname is inherited from the mother, as we have explained fully in previous chapters. /320/

b) On the death of an individual his debts and obligations are inherited by his relatives, who are categorically responsible for them and who try to satisfy them as rapidly as possible for three reasons: to maintain respect for the memory of their dead relative; to avoid possible slanderous talk from the creditors or any other members of the community; and to avoid any loss of prestige for the individual in particular and the clan group in general.

428 c) The wives of the deceased are transferred as a possession
587 to his heirs. Inheritance of the women generally falls to the maternal brothers of the deceased, though by preference they should go to the youngest of these, particularly if he is still unmarried. To him they will give the youngest wives. This part of the inheritance may provoke conflicts between the brothers and nephews of the deceased, who also have a right to the wives. To illustrate this point we mention the following occurrence: An

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428 587 influential Guajiro of Upper La Guajira had contracted marriage with two women from each of the two clan groups of La Guajira. Becoming very ill and feeling his last hours approaching, it pained him that his illness did not permit him to buy a prepubescent girl he desired so that after his death his nephews would have a motive for quarreling; he was extremely sorry that he would not be able to be present at their squabbles.

The possession of women by inheritance has been gradually weakened, especially in cases where they would have young men as future owners, they being already mature. However, the social precept is maintained that if they wish to contract marriage, the man who wants them must give an agreed-upon sum to their new owner.

428 d) Bond servants, slaves, and their descendants pass under the control of the consanguineous relatives of the deceased in accordance with the special rules of inheritance. This human property passes under the new ownership under the same special conditions of low status under which they were living previously.

e) As regards land, we can say that usufruct of communal property is inherited as well as the right to usufruct of the family agricultural plot, following the uncle to maternal nephew succession in this case.

f) With respect to the dwelling we have the following situation: Every important family usually locates itself in a place of easy access with abundant water, or at least sufficient for their needs, and at the center of the regions of pasture land. The consanguineous members of these families usually form /221/ their new family cells around this primary nucleus. On the death of the owners the original house becomes the property of their descendants through the maternal line.

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428 A particular form of inheritance that we ought to consider 43/ in this study is that of gifts made while the owner is alive, gifts

3: Wilbert E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 SC13 Goajiro SC1

582 As for the mentioned forms of cousin marriage, Ego (m. and f.) may marry any cousins on either side except for mother's sister's children. Ego (m. and f.) may also marry any kinsman of the third degree with the exception of a mother's sister's daughter's child. All relatives of the fourth degree are potential spouses. [595] Polygyny is practiced and is definitely a mark of status and rank. Sororate is sanctioned although is very rarely occurs. The data indicate, then, a very typical system [555] [587] of Crow type.

602 No avoidance taboos were said to exist in Goajiro society, but great attention is paid to respectful behavior between kinsmen. In the family parents are respected [593] equally highly by the children, whereas among siblings the brother enjoys greater authority than his sisters, and an older than a younger brother. In the presence of the maternal uncle nobody is supposed to speak up unquestioned; this rule applies especially to the younger people. Grandparents maintain close and friendly relations with their grandchildren. They make gifts to the latter: horses, bows and [43] arrows, drums, rifles, etc., and the grandchildren assist the old after having grown up. The father-in-law is respected greatly by his daughter-in-law. When visiting she serves him before she serves her mother-in-law. She does not, however, attend her own mother. Cousins are completely free to meet without being obliged to observe any avoidance regulations.

605 Artificial kin relations were said to be missing altogether among the Goajiro. 609 Non-relatives are treated with great friendliness and may even be accepted as 597 stepparents of an orphan of the group. Orphans usually join a family on the father's side.

CARACAS, VENEZUELA

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

88 [566] weaving, making drums, hammocks, bridles, &c., sewing, and all the little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the confined, who of course becomes rather stout, much bleached, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through [584] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *akaüla*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she removes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken [579] brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in 585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband, 593 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a [462] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. [583] An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occurrence) he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he [694] cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus fear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the 587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are 764 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, 583 according to his wealth and power (i. e. the number of men he can disperse of in a fight) from 6 to 180 head of cattle (12*l.* to 200*l.*).

764 When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the rancho, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

B:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Guajiro SC13

SAC unless an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exercised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand
B46 the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states
S43 that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband).
SAC Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely
S57 occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives.
At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his
● S57 eldest's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent
768 to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim
189 to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews.
(See Social Organization, p. 374.)

SA2 The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable.
432 There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

Death.—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular clan. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters, is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones
764 are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally
765 done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

761 If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only
766 the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.